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882 836 602 124 835 [648] [464] he thought that Gwanta would really come. He said that he did not know, appearing less enthusiastic than before. Then he said that he intended to sorcerize Way and marry Gwanta. When I pointed out that she was his *sister*, he said, "Oh, that does not matter; she is not my real sister; just a sister nothing." The next day he reported that she had not come. On the following day a recruiter came and Gwiyap "signed on" to work on a white plantation and left the tribe.

835 A Kwoma boy, despite his disregard of some of the incest rules, respects them with reference to his real sister. All informants agreed that sexual intercourse with a real sister never occurred. This, of course, is not proof of the absence of brother-sister incest, but it does indicate its rarity. On one occasion when Gwiyap was telling me his sexual exploits, I asked if he had ever had intercourse with Afi, his real sister. He became very serious and said: "No, indeed! She is my real sister. These other girls that I have told you about are my 'sisters nothing.'[18] If I had sexual intercourse with her, I would be terribly guilty.[19] These other sisters are all right."[20]

882 837 [561] Unmarried youths do not as a rule philander with married women. Besides the fear of retaliation from the husband, the factor of age may also play a part in this restriction. There is a strong feeling that a man should not marry or have sexual relations with a woman older than himself. Gwiyap even

[192] [196] [18] *Sumwe sumwe mowe*—"nothing sister"—classificatory sister; *mowe sakana*—"sister of the same seed"—real sister.

[19] *Homba*, as nearly as I could discover, is the word which the Kwoma use to describe guilt or shame. They have another word for fear or anxiety. While the origin of this "guilt" may be quite complicated, the punishments that a boy receives as a child for having an erection in his sister's presence, and for looking at her genitals, probably play a part in producing the feeling. It was this word which Gwiyap used to describe what his feelings would be if Mar should find out about his affair with Awa.

[835] [539] [20] A myth supports the Kwoma attitude toward brother-sister incest. "Once upon a time, long, long, long ago, a father and mother went to the swamp to collect sago flour. Their children, a boy and girl, stayed at home. They had sexual intercourse. When the parents came home, the girl told them what had happened. The father was very angry and killed his son. Since then brother-sister incest has been forbidden." Although in real life a father would probably not kill his son for this crime, because sons are an asset, the myth, which is often told, probably exerts an inhibitory effect on sexual behavior between brother and sister.

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felt this with respect to a girl who was only a few years his senior, maintaining that he was not interested in her because she was too old for him.

A boy gains prestige from his sexual exploits. Although he must be careful not to tell anyone who might inform the girl's relatives, he frequently boasts of his conquests to those of his *brothers* with whom he is most intimate, unless, of course, the girl happens to be closely related to them. A lad who enjoys the reputation of being a successful philanderer gains the respect of his fellows. Although seldom praised to his face, he receives added motivation from hearing others complimented for their successful exploits.

A youth normally does not marry until he has undergone the ceremony which makes him an adult. He begins courting, however, during adolescence, and he is subject to all the restrictions which control the choice of a mate. Although a boy may successfully engage in secret philandering with a *sister*, open courtship and marriage would bring their relation under public obloquy. Incest and other marriage restrictions, therefore, influence a boy's choice more strongly in courtship than in philandering. His selection must be made from a relatively small number of persons. The prospective bride should be slightly younger than he, but must be already pubescent. She must be a member of some sib other than his own and not closely related to his *mother's brother*, *mother's sister*, *father's sister*, *sister's husband*, *wife*,[21] *friend*, or *ceremonial father*. Finally, she must be unmarried.

The Kwoma give a number of different reasons for their restrictions upon marriage between relatives. One of their rationalizations stems from their theory of reproduction. They believe that the foetus develops from a combination of the sperm of the man and the blood of the woman. They further believe that if a man and woman with the same sperm-blood combination should produce a child, he would be sickly and apt to die. This idea is related to their theory that the renewal of blood is necessary to growth and health. Since

[21] A man may not marry a relative of his first wife while she is still alive.

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593 A woman supposedly takes the initiative in sexual inter-
833 course even after marriage. It is the wife who visits her husband's bed. Informants admitted that the husband sometimes takes the lead, but that much more frequently the woman does so. The Kwoma men spoke of this custom as being related to that of the woman taking the initiative in clandestine love affairs and courting.

834 A man may not have sexual intercourse with his wife when
833 she is menstruating, lest his penis be damaged by menstrual blood; nor when she is obviously pregnant, lest he damage the foetus; nor when she has an infant still at the breast, lest she have a second child and thus be forced to neglect the first one;[21] nor when he has just returned from a cult ceremony, lest his recent contact with the cult spirits harm the woman. This last restriction lasts from one to three nights, depending on the degree of sacredness of the ceremony. In any case he must wash himself carefully before lying with his wife to remove the dangerous spirit "infection." Finally, a husband and wife take care not to copulate while their children are still awake.

• 837 A Kwoma man's sexual behavior is not restricted to intercourse with his wife. He continues to have affairs with other women in a manner similar to that described for adolescents. He carries on his affairs secretly at carefully arranged trysts. He must be very careful not to stare at another man's wife, lest it cause suspicion, and must wait for the woman to take the initiative, lest she bring upon him the wrath of her

[593] [833] [613] [192] [196]

describe their feeling about brother-sister incest. In this context the effect may be derived from the punishments which a child receives during the weaning period for trying to sit in the lap of, sleep next to, and otherwise gain physical contact with, his mother. It is possible that if a man should sleep in contact with his wife, this earlier situation would be to some extent recreated and he would have feelings which he describes as *komba* as a result. The fact that Gwiyap referred this feeling to fear of the big men of the hamlet suggests that it may be related to the Oedipus situation. It should be remembered that at the same time that the mother no longer permits her infant to sleep next to her, the taboo on sexual intercourse which applied during the infancy of her offspring is lifted and the father, when he visits the mother at night, literally takes the place vacated by the child.

[21] Polygyny and philandering lessen the frustration of all these restrictions.

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protectors. With regard to these affairs the Kwoma take the attitude that they are discreditable only if discovered. Every man knows that his wife is probably unfaithful to him, but unless he is extremely jealous he does not spy on her and punishes her only if she is indiscreet enough to be conspicuous.

There are two occasions of ceremonial sexual license. One occurs during the yam-cult ceremonies. As described in the previous chapter, the yam cult is divided into two sections, *Y'enama* and *Minjama*, and every Kwoma male is initiated into one or the other of these sections at pubescence. When the cult holds a ceremony, the *Y'enama* dance on the first day and night, and the *Minjama* on the second. On the afternoon of the first day, the married women of the tribe dance in the clearing on one side of the house tamberan. They bring with them net bags which are decorated on one side only. These they hold above their heads as they dance with the decoration either toward them or away from them, depending on whether their husband belongs to *Y'enama* or *Minjama*, and the men note the information thus given. Taking advantage of the fact that all the *Y'enama* men will be at the house tamberan that night, the *Minjama* visit their wives. The *Y'enama* have a chance to retaliate on the following night when the *Minjama* men are dancing. The second occasion for ceremonial sexual license occurs during one of the nights of the age-grade initiation ceremonies when the men and women dance together at the house tamberan. During the dance, the women slip tokens to the men of their choice as a sign that they are willing to have intercourse with them, and the couples unobtrusively drop out of the dance and repair to the bush. For several days before and after these occasions of license, salacious jokes and sly boasting are rife. The taboo on sexual relations between relatives operates with respect to all extramarital affairs.

When a man has children, daughters appear as a new interdicted category of women. The following myth represents the Kwoma horror of such a relationship and the intensity of guilt associated with breaking this incest taboo.

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835 539 "Once upon a time, long, long ago, a man came home one night after dark and lay with a woman, thinking that she was his wife. Later he discovered that she was his grown daughter. He was very ashamed. He decorated himself in all his finery, painted his face black, and went to the house tamberan to sleep. Early in the morning he arose, cut a bamboo, and sharpened an edge on it. He went down to the lake, embarked in a canoe, and paddled out into deep water. Here he cut off his penis with the bamboo, jumped into the water, and drowned himself. Since then it has been taboo for a man to have sexual intercourse with his daughter."[22]

837 835 602 The frequency of philandering with *sisters* decreases when they marry and leave the hamlet, because the factor of proximity no longer operates. They are replaced by the wives of a man's *brothers* who live conveniently near to him. They are classed as relatives, designated by the term *brother*, and are [262] sexually taboo. The belief that a man will become ill if he eats food cooked by anyone except his wife serves to prevent philandering with a *brother's* wife. If a man deviates from this custom and has sexual relations with her, it may lead to an embarrassing situation. He frequently eats at his *brother's* house, particularly when he is helping in some coöperative economic task, and he must either risk becoming sick by eating the food offered him or publicize his illicit behavior [678] by refusing to do so. If a man suspects his *brother* of such adultery, he may threaten to beat or sorcerize him. The accused usually denies the fact, and establishes an alibi if he can. Such accusations and denials are not infrequent in Kwoma life. If the husband's suspicions are not allayed by his *brother's* denials, they may actually come to blows, and, if the offense be too flagrant and the husband powerful enough, the culprit may be forced to flee the community or be killed.[23]

[762] [192] [196] [22] It is interesting to note that the man kills himself; no one else holds him responsible for the crime. The native explanation for this is that he committed suicide because he was "ashamed." The term for this feeling is *komba*, the same word used for the feeling about brother-sister incest and about sleeping with one's wife.

[23] Takawur had fled from the tribe and was living with one of the river tribes because War's wife had accused him of attempting to rape her. Had he stayed, War might have killed him.

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he is too big to be spanked or beaten. The habit of obeying their commands has been so firmly implanted that, for the most part, he continues to do so even though the parent may not have the strength to punish disobedience physically. More often than when he was an adolescent, however, he ignores the commands of his aged parents. He is seldom physically aggressive toward them, though he not infrequently attacks them verbally. Kwoma informants could remember no case of an adult son wounding or killing a parent. Since there is no relative closer than the son to retaliate for the crime, there is no direct control of patricide. Its rare occurrence is explained in part by the punishments received during childhood for aggression toward the parents, and in part by the active negative sanction that would be applied by the whole community. Members of the hamlet would consider the deed unnatural and would avoid the murderer.

A grown man is more frequently aggressive toward his *brothers* than he was during adolescence. As already noted, his *brothers'* wives take the place of his *sisters* as persons in the hamlet with whom, although they are sexually taboo, he frequently has clandestine affairs. If such behavior is suspected or discovered, it usually leads to blows or at least to an exchange of threats and insults between the *brothers* concerned. In order to avoid suspicion, a man takes great care not to look at his *brother's* wife or to be in any other way intimate with her when he is likely to be observed. This is the nearest approach to an avoidance relationship—in public, at least—that is found in Kwoma culture.

The following cases illustrate conflicts between adult *brothers* which spring from sexual jealousy. Yat accused Kar of having an affair with his wife and threatened him. Kar denied the accusation and said that it was a bad state of affairs when one was falsely accused by his *brother*. He intimated that he might break relations with Yat. They remained hostile for about a week and then apparently forgot the matter, for their relations became friendly again. A more serious case occurred between Wof and War. The latter planned to leave the hamlet for several days and asked Wof

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885 if he would take care of his wife, Mbora, during his absence.
602 Wof agreed, and Mbora came to stay with him. When War
835 returned, someone gossiped to him that Wof had taken ad-
578 vantage of the situation and had had sexual relations with
837 Mbora. War accused Wof of adulterous behavior and threatened to spear him. Wof ran away, but his wife stood her ground and counterattacked War with an adz, wounding him in the arm. In still another instance War's wife complained that while gathering firewood she had been sexually attacked by his *brother*, Takawur. War set out with a spear after Takawur, and would have killed him had he not fled from the tribe. He still lives in exile.

421 Fighting between *brothers* sometimes results from eco-
578 nomic conflicts. The responsibility for maintaining his prop-
602 erty against theft and trespass, which a man assumes as an
593 adult, sometimes generates enough antagonism between
[885] *brothers* to overcome communal disapproval and their early training against fighting one another. The following case illustrates such a conflict. Kwal and Daw, two brothers in their early thirties, lived in adjoining houses. One day, while Kwal was away working, Daw climbed an areca palm which they owned in common and began to gather the nuts. Kwal's wife told Daw to stop, as the nuts were not yet ripe, and, when he paid no attention, began to insult him. Daw, stung by her insults, climbed down the tree and beat her with the handle of a spear. When Kwal returned home and was told by his wife how Daw had treated her, he set upon his brother with a stave, and the two battled until Daw received a severe blow on his head.

578 The reaction of the community indicates the sanction on
593 fraternal aggression. Daw and Kwal shouted angrily at one
626 another during the fight, and when the former received the blow on his head he cried out as though he were mortally wounded. As soon as the sounds of the fracas were heard, nearly everyone in the hamlet rushed to the scene. When I arrived, the battle was over and several persons were standing by each contestant. Mes was supporting Daw, who stood trembling with blood flowing down his cheek from a cut in his

224 made another across Yat's road. Yesterday Yat met Dowari on the road and
[578] accused him and went up to him to fight, but Dowari threw down his spear and
[648] ran away. Yat picked up his spear and broke it against a tree. He is going to carry the case to the police, he says.

837 Mbungawi married Pokwaga and went to work at the gold fields. Mawandayn has been having intercourse with Pokwaga. They live at the old Haymakwo house tamberan near Wenyabunkura. They have built a new little one and call it Cumbwinembara. Pokwago is pregnant. Yat wants to take Mawandays to Ambunti to court for this.

754 March 3, 1937. This morning a group of a dozen or so carrying spears
627 stopped in on their way to talk 'poison' again at Sowinambi's. A group from Sombundura and Wey came by covered from head to foot with mud. They had been the rounds of the house tamberans showing how sorry they were so that whoever was making the poison would relax). The group came back late in the afternoon. No one seemed interested in the result. The attitude was that it had been "talk nothing" as usual. The function of the thing seems to be to shame the culprit into relaxing. It also serves to allow histrionics and a gathering to talk.

685 In the evening there was loud talk down below. Someone has stolen some of War's bananas while he was away in the bush, and he is making accusations.

439 March 4, 1937. There was trading with Yambon this morning. Hwal was
241 cutting his garden below War's. Kar, Mas, Hay, Mar, Asnampa, Way, Kawas helped.

114 March 6, 1937. Yesterday I went to Mar's bush house. He has only one bed so I continued to Masa's; on the way I shot a pigeon and ate it. We went out shooting in the afternoon and met Apokwiyampa who with Pokadaya has a house

*115 about?" No answer. It was a lizard on the roof. "All the Kwoma are having
[823] intercourse now", Mar volunteered. Another pause, and "Tomorrow I will go
to my bush house". I asked him if he had work to do but he said "No,
I'll just go there. When I told him to go ahead, he added that he didn't
intend to go but was only fooling. "I'll stay here and help you." There
was another noise at which Mar jumped up and decided to go but first requested
a lantern which I didn't give him. He left, but a few minutes later he
returned saying he had forgotten the file he was going to borrow. "I saw
a ghost on the way but I chased it away. Yes." He took the file and went.
February 6, 1937.

*115 Mar's mother scolded him severely for going to the house of Mar and
584 stressed sorcery danger as the reason. Mar answered that I went with
[593] him so that it was all right. This evening he spoke to me of Aya; I asked
[754] him what was the matter with Yaya, his fiancee. He replied that she
was lazy, weak, unattractive and that her genitals were no good either.
March 3, 1937.

I went to Mar's house with Owiyap and Mar at the latter's suggestion.
As we approached the house Mar called out for Mee who was not there.
Owiyap knew it but had not said anything. Mar made some remarks as if
he was rather surprised and rather annoyed that Mar was not there. He
was obviously going to see the sister. He approached the house still
talking in this vein so the mother who was there could hear. He did not
go in the porch but stood up outside. Owiyap paused before going in but
finally went in and sat down.

587 Later that day Mar told me that Wanyakowa was first married to Wonuma
● 837 and by him had Dogaranamu. When her husband died she went to live with
Yat. He went to work for the whites and Daguwur took care of her. One
day she went to get firewood and Daguwur followed her. When she was leaning

[i.e., probably Mos.-analyst] -150-

587 over he came on her from behind and had intercourse with her. She ran away
837 and was very indignant. She said Dagwur was just like a ghost and went to live with War. Yat came back from his job and was angry with War and a big argument followed which was settled by War's buying Yat a new
[583] wife. This he did -- Gawes' child, Kafa. He paid two axes, two large knives,,a lary shell necklace and twenty strings of shells.

837 During the Yenama ceremony a Yenama wife will make an appointment
786 with a Minjema man. He will come around in the evening after she has put her children to bed and said that she is going out. Then she will meet the man in the bush close to the house and have intercourse with him there.

#115 836 Before I came Mar had once decorated himself grandly and gone to the marketplace. He met Kis' present wife (though she was not married at the time), who asked him to go into the bush with her. He agreed but before they did they met a group of men smoking in the road. Kis joined them, and they returned to the market. Later Kis' wife spoke to Mar about what had happened, but she never came up to him again and now she is married to Kis.

March 7, 1937.

#115 583 Mas is married to Mar's sister and has not paid for her yet. Mar wants to marry Mas' sister Aya, but War will not allow it unless he pays immediately. Mar can ask payment to be completed on his own sister and then return it to War but he is afraid to force War, not because he is afraid to fight him but because he is afraid of sorcery.

December 9, 1936.

*115 The day before yesterday Gwiyap said that he felt sick. We took his
123 temperature--it was 103°. We gave him five grains of quinine and told him
to go to bed. This he would not do. He kept rushing about. As usual,
[753] he could not keep still. There was no talk of his being "poisoned," and
he would not admit that he was very sick. (Contrast with Mar). The next
day, he was all right.

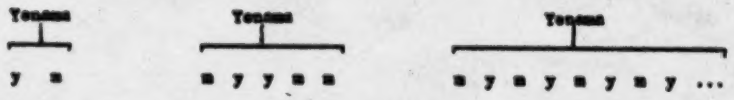
578 There is some talk of a feud between Nowel (Sow's child) and Gwiyap.
*115 Gwiyap says that he is going to fight him if he comes around the house and
he told us not to be cross with him if he beats Nowel up.

January 21, 1937.

583 Gwiyap's yaka (paternal aunt), his father's (Siyowa's) younger sister
[736] Uka, was cared for by Siyowa after their father died. Uka was married to
a man from Duwus who did not have the money to pay for her at once. If
he had been able to pay for her, the money would have gone to Siyowa.
[837] Her husband went to work at Bululo, and there were many who wanted to
have intercourse with her. Siyowa would not let them, saying that if her
husband returned, he would be ashamed if she had had intercourse with others.
Those who desired her were angry at this and sorcerized Siyowa, and he died.
[428] Before his death, however, he told Gwiyap that when the pay came for Uka,
it would go to him. (I think this is a rationalisation of normal inheritance).
Since Siyowa's death, Marok had been looking our for Uka.

Moieties

616 Normally if a man belongs to Yenama, his oldest son will be Minjama, his next oldest Yenama, and so on. If however, there is a preponderance of members in either moiety this is adjusted by shifting the alternation. Examples follow of three men and their sons and their moieties.



The equality of the moieties can also be adjusted by buying a young man with a pig into the moiety whose numbers are low. Normally a man belongs to the moiety into which he is first adopted but if chosen by the elders as a good worker, may change if he gives a pig and can sing for a long time without sitting down or sleeping.

616 The mind sugwiyf (carved figures) at the yam cult ceremonies
532 associated with each moiety are for Yenama-- a number of small carved human
796 heads; and for Minjama, a full carved figure of a man and several small human
794 heads. These figures are exhibited by a member of the cult during the time of the ceremonies; at other times they are kept in the owner's dwelling.

796 Women belong as do their husbands. During a Yenama ceremony the
794 Minjama women turn their net bags toward the house tamberan; the Yanama women
616 turn the back of the bag toward it, so that the men at the other side of the
593 sib can tell their affiliations. A woman whose husband has seen both
786 ceremonies is permitted to turn her bag either way. Men of Minjama have
[837] intercourse with women of Yenama while their husbands are attending the ceremony, and vice versa.